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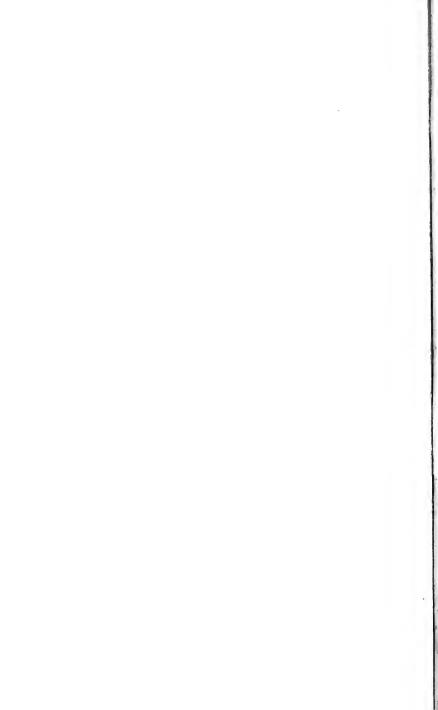
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ASHORT

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HISTORY

OF

PRIME MINISTERS

I N

GREAT BRITAIN.

Nam qui nimios optabat bonores

Et nimias poscebat oper, numerosa parabat

Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset

Casus, & impulsæ præceps immane Ruinæ.

Quid Crassos, quid Pomteios evertit, et illum

Ad sua qui domitos deduxit stagra Quirites?

Summus nempe Locus, nalla non arte petitus.

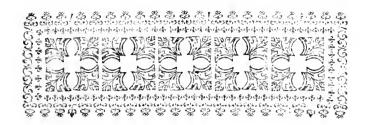
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LONDON

Printed by H. Haines, at Mr. FRANCKLIN's in Ruffel-street, Covent-Garden. 1733. (Pr. 6 d.)

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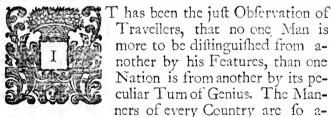


ASHORT

HISTORY

O F

Prime Ministers, &c.



dapted to the particular Form of Government, that prevails amongft them, that it is scarce possible to alter the one, without first debauching the other. The several Revolutions, that have happened in the States of Europe, are so many Demonstrations of this Truth. It seems indeed to have been the Wisdom of Providence to establish so evident a Test, by which every Nation might plainly perceive what Steps must naturally lead to their Destruction, that so no Nation might be destroyed, but by its own Consent. If therefore at

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any Time a FREE PEOPLE (by Nature hardy, by Cuttom frugal and industrious, and by their Situation incapable of subsisting but by their own Labour, Manufactures and Trade) should behold Luxury, Sloth, Vice and Corruption breaking in upon them, like a Torrent; and should discover a Man in high Station to be the Promoter of this destructive Change of Manners; they can no longer doubt that He is engaged in a Design to enslave them. And if such a Nation should tamely suffer their Corrupter to continue in the Exercise of Power, they may justly be accused of consenting to their own Ruin; for Statesmen are not easily frightened from their Purpose; much less are they fubject to Repentance for their Crimes. Necessity drives them on; and He, who has once made an open Attack upon the Constitution of his Country, will never think himself safe from publick Juflice, but by its total Subversion; which therefore He must accomplish at the Peril of his Head.

There is no Singularity in the Genius of the British Nation, that has been more remarked by Foreigners, nor more censured by polite Writers (who were born under absolute Governments) than our firing Inclination to a Change of Ministers; but had these Gentlemen been better acquainted with us, they would have found this Love of Change never grew to any Height till the Power, which our Constitution distributes amongst several Ministers, was all centured in one Man. And to our Honour be it faid, there is no Turn more peculiar to a Briton, none that has more frequently preserved our Liberties, than that insuperable Hatred to a PRIME MINISTER, which has always prevailed in this Kingdom. It may well be called our Palladiam. Whilst we retain That, our Constitution must be out of Danger; whenfoever we are debauched from

from it, we, like the rest of our Neighbours, must become Slaves. For it seems next to an Impossibility, that Great Britain should be ripched for Chains, but by such a Greature of Power; and proportioned to the Hazara our Constitution is in by a PRIME MINISTER, has been the national Antipathy in all Ages to this Preliminary Tyrant.

Whilst Power is lodged in many Hands, we both obey and cherish it. There is nothing in it to alarm us. Several great and able Men, joinely engaged in one Administration, but acting independant of one another in their different Stations, is the only Model of Government suited to the Legislature, suited to the very Genius of the British Nation. Ministers, on such a Foot, are mutual Checks upon each other; each of them has his distinct Set of Adherents, some of whom Alliance, Friendship, Esteem, and perhaps Expectations unite in his particular Interest; but his main Support must be the Character he bears in his Country. When a Number of fuch great Men join, they draw with them a large Body of the Nation, and cannot therefore act but upon Principles, that may preserve to Tkem their Popularity amongst their Fellow-Subjects. Such a Ministry is built upon the strong Basis of the People's Affection. It is That, which gives Them Strength to do their Masters Business, and their Master can offer such Men no Degrees of Power or Wealth, that would be an Equivalent, even in Point of Interest, to the Less of their Character.

Reverse this noble Prospect, and behold the Power of many Ministers shrunk up into the Fist of one ambitious Man. Can such an one subsist by any Art, but That of Corruption? He can have no personal Interest, to draw any Numbers along with him. Men of real Worth and Insluence in their Country

Country are too much his Equals (perhaps Superiours) not to fcorn to act under him. Men of great Abilities will fcarce employ them as the mean Tools of another's Power. What He wants therefore in Weight, the PRIME MINISTER must endeavour to supply in Numbers. And as He cannot gain These by his natural Strength, he must introduce an effeminate Luxury, that may supplant the innate Sturdiness, for which the English have fo long been famous, and by corrupting our Manners, he may come to corrupt our Votes. And if he can, by an extravagant Way of living amongst the Gentry, bring many of them into a necessitous Dependance, He may for some Time maintain his Power against the Bent of a whole People. But even This must fail him; for as Corruption is the PRIME MINISTER'S sole Instrument of State, so That by Degrees will grow fo very craving, that he will find it hard to farisfy. Then it is, that He becomes desperate in his Projects; his Creatures are no longer true to him than whilst they are feeding; his other Fellow-Subjects (oppress'd and plundered to gorge These) are all united to his Ruin; and he has no other Method left to screen himself from their Resentments, than by throwing into his Master's Hand such an absolute Power, as may be sufficient to protect him against the whole Kingdom, if his Mafter be weak enough to stand upon the narrow Bottom of his Minister.

This has been and This must be the desperate Game of every Prime Minister in this Country. Justly therefore is such an one the Object of the People's Hatred. Should we ransack the British History, we shall find our wisest Monarchs had no such Minister; and amongst those Princes, who had, we learn that some were betrayed by their Minion, as soon as He saw the sovereign Power

was too weak to protect him; others, we read, lost both their Crown and Life in too obstinate an Adherence to a hated Faveurite; and some, tho very sew, have saved themselves, by honourably giving up a wicked Manister to the Justice of an injured Nation. To set This in a clear Light, I shall briefly run through all the Reigns, from the

Conquest down to the Restoration.

WILLIAM THE FIRST, who was by Nature 1066. formed to keep, as well as gain a Crown, never would trust his Power in one Hand. But when the most potent of his Ministers (Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent) had, by his rapacious Management of the publick Money, annais'd a mighty Treasure, and was forming a Scheme to establish himself independent of his Master, the Kennet's Historian informs us, that the wise King "took Hist. of him from amidst a Confluence of Noblemen and Vol. I."

"Gentry, who attended on Him, and at once permits."

" disappointed all his ambitious Views, by a strict

"Imprisonment, and he was afterwards obliged to

" abjure the Realm.

WILLIAM THE SECOND, whom our Histories 1087. represent as a Prince of a fierce and avaritious. p. 114. Temper, was wholly under the Influence of Ra- High of nulph, Bishop of Durham, who, by new Methods of V_{ab} . I. fqueezing and oppressing the People, so fed his p. 117. Mafter's infatiable Thirst after Money, as to be-p. 119. come the principal Director of his Counsels. His male Administration disposed the Subjects to revolt. One Conspiracy broke out in the Year 1095; and another more formidable was ripe for Execution, when the King's Death prevented it. He was killed in the new Forest by one Walter Tyrrel; whether by Mischance, or by Design, is not agreed; but the Historian tells us, "That this Prince ibid. " might have had an absolute Government of all p. 117. 66 his

"his Subjects, had he fought it by endearing "Acts; but feeking to cstablish it by Force, he

" made both himself and his People miserable.

1100.

Hift. of England,

Vol. I.

p. 123.

HENRY THE FIRST, who is justly reckon'd amongst the wifest of our Princes, had no PRIME MINISTER. He fought out the most able Men in his Kingdom for the Offices of State, preferring fuch only as were acceptable to the People. Historian observes, "That he took the best " Courses to please and gratify his Subjects; by " feeing himself that no Corruption, or Oppression " should burthen the Country; by making fre-" quent Progresses to observe how his Realm was " order'd in every Part of it; by being affable " and eafy of Access, so that all might enjoy his

"Company; and by being hospitable, so that all " might share of his good Cheer.

Hift of England, Vol. I. p. 119.

as "the committing to a streight and loathsome." Prison Ranulph of Durham, the PRIME MI-NISTER and Oppressor of the former Reign." And after That, when one of his own Ministry, Robert Earl of Mallent, had by his Conduct incurred the People's Hatred, " he first disgraced him, " and then stript him of his vast Estate.

Nothing so much endeared him to the Nation,

ibid. p. 123.

1135. ioid. p. 125.

127.

King Stephen, according to our Historians, " was elected to the Crown upon this Confidera-" tion; that by preferring one, whose Title was " weak, the Nation might be better fecured in

"their antient Liberties, than they could be un-"der one, that came to the Throne by lineal

" Descent. Accordingly the Fealty sworn to him " was upon Condition that he observed the Te-

" nor of a Charter, wherein the Rights and Li-" berties of the Subject were declared."

PRIME MINISTER Alberic de Ver having led him into arbitrary Measures, the Nation revolted from

him

him to the Emtres Mand, who was the rightful Heir of the Crown by Descent. She too had a Prime Minister, the Bishop of Winchester, who, though Brother to Stephen, had set the Crown on her Head; but in whom she reposed too great a Considence. For this ambitious Statesman (perceiving the Londoners averse to Mand, and that the whole Nation began to dislike her) consulted his own Interest by a private Treaty with her Competitor, and having obtained his own Terms, obliged his royal Mistress to quit the Kingdom, and retire to her own Dominions beyond Sea.

HENRY THE SECOND in all his Reign had but 1155. one PRIME MINISTER; to whom all the Troubles, or the Seeds at least of all the Troubles of his Life were owing. This was the famous Tho-itid. p. mas Becket, who was for some Years the sole Ma- 134. nager of all Affairs of State, and was entrusted 140. with the Care of the Education of the King's eldest Son. But this wicked Minister was no sooner raised to an independent State, than he enter'd into an open Opposition to his Muster; distrest him in all his Councils; and concerted fuch Meafures with the young Prince, who had been under his Tuition, as produced an open Rupture between the Father and Son, which lasted even after the Bid. p. Author of it had been long bury'd; and to which 143. the ill Conduct of Queen Eleanor not a little contributed. Many indeed have imputed all the Difasters of this unhappy Reign (which ended in a Conspiracy of the two Sons against their Father, i'id. p. that broke his Heart) to the Judgments of Hea- 133 ven upon the King, inafmuch as He had finn'd p. 149. against the Laws of Nature and of Conscience in the beginning of his Reign, by an open Violation and Dischedience of his Polymer and Disc and Disobedience of his Father's Will.

1159. 151. 151.

RICHARD THE FIRST, as he spent the greatest Part of his Time beyond Sea, so he unhappily vested his whole Power in the narrow Hands of one YRIME MINISTER, the Bishop of Ely; who foon exerted his Authority, independent of his Master. History informs us, that he not only imprisoned and opprest the King's best Subjects, but even turned out his personal Favourites. He excluded the Nobility and those Ministers, whom the King had joined in Commission with him, from any Share of Government, and acted in fo arbitrary and infolent a Manner, as render'd him odious to the whole Kingdom. The Nation, no longer able to bear with his Oppression, invited from beyond Sea Earl John, who had thereby an Opportunity of affuming the Government, whilst his unhappy Brother the King (being taken Prisoner by the Emperor, in his Return from the Holy Land) had well nigh loft his Life and Kingdom, by thus imprudently putting the Reins of Government into the Hands of one ill-chosen Minister, who could not hold them.

±199-

ibii. p.
15.

v 1. p. 161. 163. King John, who fucceeded him, was a poor, weak Prince, govern'd by the Man, who had the best Address to flatter him, and most of all by such, who offered him new Methods of raising Money on the People. By this Secret Hubert, Archbishop of Conterbury, became the fole Director of his Councils; which he conducted in such an arbitrary Manner, as to raise a civil War; in the very beginning of which, this pecuniary Projector dyed. His Successor in Favour and in Power was febri Gran, a Norfolk Man, who for his private Interest (as the Historian reports) engaged his Master first in ille Contests abroad with the Pope and the King of France; and then persuaded him to mean Submissions to these very Enemies, he

(11)

had procured him, which difgusted all the Subjects at home; for the Nation could not bear that Strangers should offer Indignities to the King and Kingdom, with Impunity. This Norfolk Man, being thus become the Object of the People's Hatred, next procured for his Master a considerable Body of foreign Troops, which he kept in Pay, in order to conquer his own Subjects; and this bad Step drew on an Invasion; so that our wretched Country was wasted by two contending Armies, till the unhappy Monarch himself, being in the End deserted on all Hands, was poyloned at Swineshead Abbey, and died unpitied, as he had lived unbeloved.

Abbey, and died unpitied, as he had lived unbeloved.

Henry the Third, a Prince unable to learn 1216.

Wisdom from his Father's Missortunes, was all his

Life a wretched Prey to Favourites. Hugh, or

Hubert de Burgh was the first; of whom the

Historian says, "That he forced the People to Historian

"pay as he pleased, and not according to their Ali-robind." Itties. His ill Conduct bred an Insurrection a-robind. gainst the King, who at length forsoek him; being ioid peconvinced of this Minister's Folly, in expending 174: the Treasure of the Nation in fruitless and shame-ful Expeditions, and of his Fraud, in applying no small Share of it to his own private Use; and for his male Administration he was both differed and imprisoned. But no sooner was the poor Monarch delivered from this destructive Engrosser of ited. Power, than he fell into the Hands of another; Peter, Bishop of Winchester. This Man and his

Creatures fo harrafs'd the Kingdom with Taxes, that the King was forced to fummon a Parliament, in order to prevent a civil War. "The Barons is fent the King Word they would not come to

"Parliament, till he removed the Bithop of Win"chefter from his Court; which if he refused to

" do,

"do, they would turn him and his evil Coun-" fellor out of the Realm, and choose a new "King." And indeed this unhappy Reign was afterwards but one continued Scene of Oppression and civil War, occasion'd by the wicked Ministers, who fuccessively engross'd the Sovereign's Ear. and made him quarrel with his worthiest Subjects; 'till at last one Prime Minister (Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester) whom he had raised from nothing, employed all the Power his Master had weakly put into his Hands, in Opposition to him. He first raised an Army, and then attack'd the King at Lewis, where he defeated and took him Prisoner, and kept him under close Confinement for near two Years, himself all the while governing the Nation in his Name; till the brave Prince Edward slew this traiterous Prime Minifler at Evelbam, and thereby fet both the King and Kingdom at Liberty.

ibid. p.

ibid. p.

186.

187.

EDWA D THE FIRST, who may well be ranked amongst the greatest Princes, that ever reign'd in this or any other Country, never bestow'd his Confidence on one Man only, but sought the ablest of his Nobles for publick Posts, in which he gave

to each an equal Share of Power. He severely punished every one in Employment, who was found p. 194. guilty of Oppression or Injustice; and no less than

thirteen of his Judges were at one Time condemn'd by him for Extortion, and fined 100,000 Marks, which was then as much as 800,000 would ibid. p. be at this Time. To this wife Prince we owe

the best Laws in being to this Day, for securing the Liberties and Properties of the Subject; for he in all Things consulted his People's Interest and their Inclination rather than his own. And in nothing was his Sagacity more remarkable, than

in foretelling his Son's unhappy Fate.

EDWARD

EDWARD THE SECOND (as History informs p. 202. us) was very popular at first. " Never Prince " came to the Crown with greater Love and more " general Applause of all his Subjects, than he "did; which might have been secured to him by a little wise Management." But when it appeared he hated all his Father's real Friends, and ibid. that he violated his Father's last Will, by recalling Gaveston from Banishment; the Aversion to him grew as universal as the Applause had been. His Prime Minister Gaveston became so odious to ibid. p. the Nation, that the Nobles rose in Arms against 203. him, and having seized upon him, they executed p. 204. him without a Tryal. This Minion was no sooner destroyed, than two others rose in his Stead; p. 206. the Spenfers, Father and Son. These Men so vexed the People with their arbitrary Impositions, that p. 207. it drew on a civil War; in which one of the Spen-p. 209, fers was taken by the Nobles, and put to Death as 210. a Traytor; and the poor Monarch himself lost his Crown and his Life foon after.

EDWARD THE THIRD, in his Minority, was under the usurp'd Tuition of the Queen his Moibid, p. ther. During her weak Administration, Mortimer 211. was sole Minister. His base Murder of the de-ibid. p. posed King, his scandalous Treaty with the Scots, 212. his rapacious Sale of publick Offices, and his open p. 213. Robbery of the Nation's Treasure, had so dishonoured and incenfed the whole Kingdom, that whilst he was wholly taken up with inventing new Methods for aggrandizing himself and all his Kindred, the Nobles conspired to seize upon his Person; which being done, they forced the Queen to call a Parliament; in which she herself was stript of all her ill-conducted Authority, and her Minion Mortimer was hang'd and drawn at Tyburn. During the rest of this long and glorious Keign, ibid. there

there was no Prime Minister, but many of those Statesmen, whom the King comployed, were at different Times called by him to a strict Account for bale Practices, in raining oppressive Taxes, and for corrupt Dealing in the Treatury. Chancellor, Treasurer, Chief Justice, and Five more, were for these Crimes imprisoned in the Year 1340; and the Archvishop of Canterbury was difgraced for the time ill Conduct in 1341. fevere Punishments inflicted by this wife Monarch on corrupt Judges; the wholesome Laws made by him to reprefs Luxury and Vice of every Kind; his watchful Care over our Brit. B Trade and Manufactures, and the wife Acts of Parliament padded by him, for the Encouragement and Improvement of our staple Commodities; the many glorious Succeffes his Arms were bleft with Abroad, and the happy Quiet his Subjects enjoyed at home, are all of them so many Demonstrations, that this great King was not in the Hands of a Prime Minister.

1377. Hist. of England, p. 237.

ibid. p.

246.

247.

Hift. of England,

Vol. 1. p

216.

ibil. p.

1. 234.

218.

RICHARD THE SEC. ND, by not treading in these Steps, lost both his Crown and his Life. The Historian relates, "That he came to the "Throne with great Advantages; the People " were enamoured with him, and received him " for their King with universal Joy and Satisfac-"tion; the Lois of their brave King, folately de-" ceased, was quite forgotten, being swallowed up "with the Hopes of that Happiness, which they "promifed thendelves under this his Successor." But the Scene was fo entirely changed in a few Years Time, and the Taxes grew to insupportable, (more from the Method of collecting them, than from their Quantity) that one Rebellion was no fooner queil'd, than another broke out. The King himself seem'd only to have assumed the Government, that he might throw his own Power into

the Hands of a corrupt Prime Minister, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. He had grown so sud-viid pedenly from a low to a rich Estate, by Bribery in 255. his Office and by embezling the publick Money, by Grants from the Crown to him and his Family, and by oppressing the Subjects with illegal Taxes, for which he afterwards compounded with them in private; that in the End, the Parliament petitioned the King to remove him from his Councils; and the King, being in no Condition to dispute the Point, at length consented to this Demand. "And then (says the Historian) it appeared how good a Prince King Richard was, when separa-ibid.

" ted from evil Counsel.

"The guilty Minister was with the Royal Ap-" probation deposed from all his Offices; his Estate " of 1000 l. a Year (equal to 10,000 l. now) was " confiscated, and he was fined in twenty thousand "Marks." But the poor Monarch could not long hold the Reins of Government himself; he soon chose another Prime Minister, sull as wicked as the former, Robert Duke of Ireland. His first Step was to screen Michael de la Pole; he persuaded the King to remit his Fine and reftore him to his Estate, and to discountenance those Nobles, who had procured his Difgrace; telling his deluded Sovereign, " That the main Aim of those Hift of Wobles, who procured the Sentence on Pole, England.
was to dethrone him by diffracing his first 10. 1. 2. " Minister; for that it was an easy Inserence, " that the King is not fit to rule, who knows " not whom to trust. By these and such like Ar-" guments the King was wrought up to the Ruin " of those Lords, whom these bad Ministers ac-" counted their Enemics." Several Projects were formed to destroy them by Force; but the universal ibid. Love the Nation bore them made this impractica-ibid p. ble. 258.

ibid. p. 261.

p. 263.

ibid. p.

276. p. 278,

279.

p. 280.

ibid. p.

Hift. of

281.

283.

ble. The Minister try'd to pack a Parliament; but That too was found impossible, the Nation being in a Flame against the Court. These Attempts, proving unfucceisful, produced a civil War, in which the Ministerial Forces being routed, the Duke of Ireland and the Earl of Suffolk were both forced to fly from publick Justice. "But the chief" Tool of their Power, Sir Robert Tresslan, being " feized, was condemned in Parliament, and pur-" fuant to their Sentence drawn through the City " of London on a Hurdle, and hanged at Ty-" burn." After this publick Act of Justice, the Nation was at Quiet for some few Years, till the Earl of Rutland (after that created Duke of Aumerle) became Prime Minister. He, searing the Fate of his Predeceffors, refolved to remove those flurdy Patriots out of the Way, who had accomplish'd the Ruin of the Duke of Ireland and Earl of Suffolk. He therefore pack'd a House of Commons by wicked Means, and got the Earl of Arundel and others to be impeached, condemned and executed. This, and many other Acts of Oppression, so disgusted the City of London (from whence the Difgust spread through the whole Kingdom) that every thing was ripe for a civil War. In this Condition were Affairs, when the Prime Minister, as if designedly to compleat his Master's Ruin, persuaded him to go over to his Dominion of Ireland; where he had no fooner landed, than the Duke of Lancaster, with a small Body of foreign Troops, invaded this Kingdom; and having feized upon fome of the chief Instruments of the Minister's Tyranny, and put them to Death, was by the whole Nation received as their England, Fol. 1. P. Deliverer. The King, upon this News, returned from Ireland, with an Army sufficient to have maintain'd his Crown, had they adher'd to him; but

fee the Fidelity, that may be expected from all Prime Ministers! The Duke of Aumerle, to whom the present Distress of the King's Assairs was chiefly owing, was the first that deserted him; itid, pedismiss'd his best Troops, and fled over to the 234. Duke of Lancaster, with 500 Mea. Richard the Second was soon after himself betrayed into the Hands of his Enemy; deposed from the Throne p. 236. by his Parliament; and at last murdered in hisp. 287. Prison.

Henry the Fourth, who succeeded him, as he 1399. came to the Crown by the People's Choice, fo he maintained himself in the Possession of it, by confulting their Interest. He never placed his Power out of his own Hands; his Reign was indeed disturbed by civil Wars, which his disputed Title, and the Burthen of necessary Taxes drew upon him; for, as the Historian observes, People doibid. ?. not love to buy even Happiness too dear. But his 305. wife Conduct, the able Ministers he employed, and the Equality he maintain'd in the Distribution of his Favours, with his constant Care of the Trade and Honour of this Nation, made him at last a Victor over all his Encmies, both at home and abroad, and laid the Foundation of his Son's Greatness and Glory.

Henry the Fifth, during his short but glorious 1413. Reign, had no Prime Minister. The Historian ibid. p. says, "He chose his Counsellors amongst the 308. "gravest and wifest of his Nobility; he went in ibid. p.

"Progress through many Parts of his Kingdom, 333and received all Complaints of male Administration with Chearfulness, even from the meanest of his People. All Abuses of his Authority he immediately reform'd, not sparing the greatest

of his Ministers, when he found them guilty of Misdemeanors;" telling them, "That fince ibid.

"They had no Respect to his Honour, which was wounded by their Injustice, He could have no Motive to favour them, but punish them the more severely; because, for the Sake of a little Gain or Friendship, They had robb'd him of what he most valued, his People's Love and Affection.

84220

Henry the Sixth was the Reverse of his wife and great Father, in the whole Conduct of his long, weak, and turbulent Reign. He had no sooner taken into his Hands the Power of the Government, than he bestowed the whole Administration of it on one wicked Minister or another, 'till by their Means he was deprived of his Dignity, Liberty and Life. William de la Pole was his first Prime Minister, and was supported in his Power by the Ascendant the Queen had gain'd over her Husband, even after the King had conceiv'd a just Aversion for him. The Oppression of the Subject at home, the Losses we sustain'd abroad, and the Contempt brought upon our Councils, by Suffolk's Ignorance and Blunders, raifed the Nation's Discontent to the highest Pitch. They faid, "It was no Injury to pitch upon "another King, fince the present Sovereign had deposed himself in Essect, by suffering the Queen and Susfolk to over-rule all." The Commons at length impeach'd him for Treason, and the Lords committed him to the Tower; but during a Recess of Parliament, the Queen procured his Enlargement, and restored him to his former Favour. This was so highly resented by the Nation, that

the Court were obliged at last to banish him, in order to save his Life; but That proved ineffectual; for the Ship, in which he embark'd for France, was pursued and taken by another Ship belonging to the Duke of Exeter, and Suffolk him-

felf

H.ft. of England, Vol. I. p.

16 a. p.

t • 397 •

p. 401.

p. 402.

felf was beheaded by the Captain near Dover Sands. The next Prime Minister in this Reign did. s. was the Duke of Somerset; who, as History in- 409. forms us, " rose high in Favour with the King and " Queen, ruling and governing all, as he pleafed. "The Nation was by no Means disposed to a Re-p. 411. " bellion against the King; (for no Harm was " meant Him, good Man, who did no Ill to any, " and defired the Nation's Welfare in all Things) " but against the Queen, the Duke of Somerfet, " and his Cabal, who usurped the regal Autho-" rity. The first Attempt the Nobles made "was on the Duke of Somerfet, whom they caused to be arrested in the Queen's Bed-"Chamber, and fent to the Tower, in order " to answer the Crimes that should be laid to his " Charge in the enfuing Parliament. According-" ly he was there accused of high Treason; but " by the Queen's Influence that Parliament was "diffolved and the Duke was fet at Liberty." Upon This, the Nobles rose in Arms, and declared ibid. for the House of York; the Court too raised an Army, which was totally defeated; the King himfelf "was taken Prisoner, and the Prime Minister p. 412. " was flain in the Action." The rest of this Reign was one continued Scene of civil War, till it ended in the King's Murder, and in the Transfer of the Crown to another Family. The Character gi-ibid. f. ven this Prince in History is, "That he might 427" " have been as good a King as England ever had, " if he had been guided by a wife and good Coun-" cil; but he was ruled by Favourites and by his "Queen, whose ambitious assuming the regal " Power beyond her Sphere made it thought no " Rebellion to take it out of her Hands, and put " it where it would be better ordered, and was more due. The King's Fall was much pitied, " because, as to his Person, undeserved; but the com=

ce common Good so much required a Change, " that it was judged better One suffer an Injury,

" rather than the whole Nation perish.

7161. Edward the Fourth, though perhaps too much Hift. of addicted to Pleasure, was in the main a wife and England, able Monarch. He never had a Prime Minister: Vol. I. p. but relyed upon the Advices of a well-chosen Coun-433. cil, and on his own Abilities. This Conduct acquired him a Crown, and This recovered it for ibia. p. him, when it was fnatcht away by the Treachery 441. of fome, in whom he most confided. As his own good Capacity always led him into the Measures, f. 445. most conducive to the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom, fo That made him in general more an Object of the People's Affections, than was to be p. 449. expected in a Time of fuch Confusion and Bloodibid. p. 4.78. shed. The only Weakness of his Reign (and, as p. 481. Sir Thomas More observes, by which Occasion was p. 482. given after his Death, to the Usurpation of his Brother Richard) was his over Fondness for the Queen; at whose Importunity he promoted her fast Friends, beyond what either their Birth or Abilities could entitle them to; by which the antient Notility and the great Commoners were disobliged.

Edward the Fifth, by this bad Politicks of his

Father, lost his Crown and Life.

1483.

14830

ibid. to 499.

.2. 501.

ibid. t. 505.

.t. 506.

Richard the Third, in his thort Reign, afforded no Instance of a Prime Minister, unless the Duke of Buckingham may deserve that Title. it was, who first set the Crown on this Usurper's Head; but either he was not gratified, according to his Expectations; or else he was apprehensive that his Master could not long maintain his illacquired Dignity; for he foon after engaged in a Conspiracy against him, which proved fatal to them both; for the Duke was at first taken and beheaded as a Traytor; but the Storm, he had raifed,

(2I)

raised, was not to be quelled, but by the Death of ibid. p. the Usurper.

Henry the Seventh was indeed too prudent a 1485. Prince, to trust his whole Power in the Hands of any one Minister; and yet he often gave more Authority to a Few, than was confishent either with his great Sagacity, or his Interest. An unhappy p. 636. Love of Money frequently betrayed him into this Mistake in Government, and made him rather employ the base Instruments of gratifying that Pastion, than THOSE, who were better qualify'd for the real Service of the State. To this unpopular Foible, in a British Sovereign, were owing many of those Insurrections, which, under a weaker 'olitician, must have ended in Destruction. The Hist. of oppressive Subsidy in 1489 (though granted in England. Parliament) caused a Rebellion in the North, in Vol. 1. 1. 1. which the chief Promoter of the Tax, the Earl of 595. Northumberland, fell a Sacrifice to popular Retentment. Another Parliamentary Aid in 1496 was fo grievous to the Cornss Men, that they rose in ibid. p. Arms, to oppose the levying it; and after some 617. Success in the West, marched in a Body on to p. 619. London, and came as far as Black Heath, where they encounter'd the royal Forces in a pitcht Battle. Towards the latter End of this Reign, the King's Love of Money increasing with his Age, Empson and Dudley, Those Leeches of the ibid. p. PEOPLE (as Lord Bacon calls them) built their 629. Greatness' upon their singular Talents of devising 1. 630. new Methods, how to raise Money; in which they 1. 631. so cruelly squeez'd and oppress'd the Subjects, whilst the King's Cossers abounded with Treasure, which he could not use, that in the End the whole Kingdom was disposed to rebel. The Historian therefore recounts it, as one of the Felicities of this Reign, " That an opportune Death with-ibid. p. " drew 635.

" drew the King from any future Blow of For-"tune; which certainly, in Regard of the great
Hatred of his People, had not been impossible

" to have come upon him. Henry the Eighth found no other Method of re-1509. calling the lost Affections of his Subjects, but by H:ft. of England, giving up to publick Justice those two wicked Vol. 2. Ministers, Empson and Dudley; who, being p. 3. guilty of that very worst of Treasons, alienating F. 5. ibid. p. 6. the Pcople's Hearts from their Sovereign, were beheaded on the 18th of August, 1510. Act procured the new King the whole Nation's Love; which he preferved for many Years, 'till the oppressive Conduct of his own Prime Minister, Wolfer, stagger'd their Loyalty. The Character of D. 14. this ambitious Statesman has been so often set forth of late, in all its Colours, that I shall only obferve at present, that he engaged his Master in many fruitless, inglorious Expeditions abroad, which ibid. p. funk the Honour as much as they drained the 16. D. 24. Treasure of the Nation; that He was so insolent p. 50. as to usurp the regal Style; seldom speaking of P. 55· his Master's Astions, but under the Title, We did p. 58. so; that he fold his Sovereign's Alliance, by Turns, ibid. p. 25 to every Potentate in Europe; 'till at length there 30. 34. p 70. 83. was scarce a Prince lest, who thought it worth the purchasing; and last of all, that he accumulated ·85. To vast an Estate, as to form a Project of making p. 106. himself independent of the Crown. I shall end Hift. of his Character, with what the Writer of those England, Vol. 2. p. Times, the most partial to Him, the Lord Herbert 124. fays, "One Error was that He and His were 2. 125. "invested with a hateful Multiplicity of Offices and ; 51.I. p. " Places; which as it drew much Envy on the :49 " Cardinal in particular, so it derogated no little " from the regal Authority, while one Man alone 6 feemed to exhaust it all. Since it becometh

" Princes

" Princes to do, like the good Husbandmen, when "they fow the Ground, which is to fcatter, and " not throw all in one Place. The Difgrace and "Imprisonment of this overgrown Monster of " Power (in which he died of Grief) foon reco-" vered the straying Affections of the People, who "were never more effectually gain'd, than by fuch " a Sacrifice; but this happy Turn lasted not long. The popular Discontents were revived by the many Changes in Religion, and by the exorbitant Power thrown into the Hands of Cromwell, who isit p. was made Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Knight 202. of the Garter, and Vicegerent general in Spirituals. p. 222. To him Lord Herbert attributes the Taxes in 1536, which occasioned a most formidable Rebel- ibid. p. tion in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and other Parts; and 205. consisted of no less than 30,000 Men, who were p. 206. not dispers'd, but upon Promise of calling a Free Parliament. To him .He likewise attributes the heavy Taxes in 1539, which he fays, "equally p. 222.
"oppress'd both the Clergy and the Laity; and 223." " made the Author of them fo univerfally hated, " that the King gave Way to the Accusations " against him; and then it was evident he must " fall. For it was impossible that one, who med-" dled fo much in all the great and publick Af-" fairs, should not in diverse so mistake and err, "as to incur the Note of a Criminal, when In-" quisitions were made against him. The Disgrace and Imprisonment of Cronwell was recei-" ved by the People with many Acclamations, "that witness their Joy; so impatient are they usu-" ally of the good Fortune of FAVOURITES. And " all former Faults being imputed to Him, every " one began to hope for a better Age. He was " attainted in Parliament of Crimes great and " enormous, and fuch as deserved capital Punishment;

ibid. p.

225.

1547.

Hift. of

England.

308. ibid. p.

p. 300.

p. 306. p. 307.

ibid. p.

p. 327.

324.

325. p. 326.

"ment; but as He was not permitted to and fwer for himself, the Proceedings were thought " rigorous; but so few pitied Him, that all was " past over, and he was executed on Tower-hill " in July 1540." The rest of this Reign, as it was free from any Prime Minister, so was it likewise from Rebellions. Edward the Sixth, during his short Reign of Minority, had no less than two Prime Ministers. The first was the Duke of Somerset; who, though Uncle to the King, and Protector of the Kingdom by Election, could not avoid the Fate, that in this Country naturally attends on too much Power, when vested in the Hands of one Subject. The engrossing the regal Authority was his only Crime; This raised Insurrections through the Kingdom; This united the chief of the Nobility against him; This procured his Imprisonment in the Tow-Vol. 1. p. er in 1549; and lost him his Head in 1552. 296 297. The ambitious Author of his Ruin, the Duke of Northumberland, fucceeded him in Power, and foon became the Object of the Nation's Hatred; He even contrived to fix the Crown upon a Lady, who had married into his own Family; and when he had brought his royal Master to consent to that Settlement, he was strongly suspected to have poyfoned him. Sir John Hayward and Godwyn both agree that this Suspicion was founded on no trivial Conjectures. The former of these Writers p. [325.] fays, "The People left nothing unspoken, which " might ferve to flir Hatred against Northumber-" land, and Pity towards the King; but the Duke " was nothing moved hereat; for being equally obstinate, both in Purpose and Desire, and mount-

" ing his Hopes above the Pitch of Reason, he " resolved then to dissemble no longer, but began

" openly

" openly to play his Game; a Game, for which he justly lost his Head in the succeeding Reign.

Queen Mary, in her Reign, had but one Prime Minister, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; who p 333-made the Nation a Scene of Blood and Desola-Hist. of tion, in order to obtain for himself a Cardinal's Vol. I. p. Hat. For that Purpose, he promoted and accom- 351. plish'd that hateful Spanish Match, which, had it proved fruitful, must have made this Island a Province dependent on Spain. It met with the uni- ibid p. versal Disapprobation of the People, and raised a 339. Rebellion; which, but for an accidental Difappointment, had probably overturned the whole Government. This avowed Difgust occasioned p. 341. those Articles in the Treaty of Marriage, whereby p. 3+2. the Liberties of this Kingdom were secured, as much as Words can secure against Power. Gardiner's blundering Politicks, in contriving so unnatural an Alliance, soon involved the Nation in a War ibid. p. with France, in which we lost that important Har-354-bour of Calais; a Loss, which so affected the poor, ioid. p. deluded Queen, as to be the immediate Occasion 358. of her Death.

Queen Elizabeth succeeded; and, in her long, 1558. wise and glorious Reign, not one Prime Minister appeared. Her People's Love was the strong Basis of her Government, as their Interest was the only Drift of her Councils. Camden says, "On Hist. of all, whom she ever admitted into her Ministry, Vol. I. p. England, Vol. I. p. and so little Distinction, as to prevent any from getting the Ascendant over Her; whereby she remain'd Mistress of her self, preserving their Assections, and her own Power and Authority entire." Upon this Maxim she always modell'd her Ministry; therefore, in 1568, she protected Hist. of England, Vol. (afterwards Lord Burleigh) even against her Vol. I. p. greatest 417.

greatest personal Favourite, the Earl of Leicester, who with other Lords had conspired his Overthrow; and fome Years after, she as firmly supported Leicester against the Artifices of Cecil. She sent the Earl of Leicester in 1586, to affift the ibid. t. 471. 541. Dutch against the King of Spain. He was thereupon chosen Governor of the united Provinces; but no fooner did the States complain of him, for abusing his great Power, but this just Queen recalled her Favourite with Difgrace. The Person. whom she next honoured with the highest Marks of her Favour, was the Earl of Effex; but when ibid. p. 608. he began to affect a Superiority over his Fellow p. 60g. Ministers, assuming more Authority than his Miftress intended for his Share, she openly curbed p. 626. his overweening Ambition; turned him out of his Employments; and called him to Account for his Conduct in them. This aspiring Statesman hereibid. p. 629. upon enter'd into Cabals against her Measures, in 630. order to force himself into Place; his principal Scheme for this Purpose was, by contriving a Rupture between the Queen and the next Heir to the Crown; which proving abortive, he was at last ibid. p. 637. constrained to undergo the just Punishment of his traiterous Conspiracies. Fames the First succeeded this great Queen; 1603. and though he was too weak to tread in her Steps, yet he reaped many happy Benefits from her just Administration; which had created in the Minds of the whole People such an habitual Reverence for the Throne, as all his bad Policy could never quite extinguish. His was, in Truth, the Reign of Prime Ministers. Sir Robert Car was the first; who, for some Time, was forced to share in Power

" upon Cecil's Death, Sir Robert took full Possessi-

with the wife Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; and fo long Affairs were tolerably well conducted; "but,

idid. p.

691.

" on of the King's Favours alone; receiving all " Packets, and dispatching Answers, without the "Knowledge of the King or Council; or, if the "King did know, his Love had hoarded up fuch " a Confidence in him, as he laid out all on that "Stock. He graspt at all Employments; not " caring whom he disobliged, or what Malice he HA. of "pulled upon himself; nor would he suffer any England, "Place at Court, or Dignity in State, to be be-p. 697. " flowed, which was not sweetened with his p. 698. " Smile, as giving it, or their Bounty that enjoy'd " it." So that by his many foul Devices, " and " by his fcandalous Sale of Offices, it was thought " he engross'd a Mass of Coin, as if his Soul in-" tended to take her Ease. This and his other " Miscarriages procured him such a Number of " Underminers, that he stood upon a tottering "Foundation, having no Support but the royal " Favour; which was at last removed, by laying " before the King his crying Guilt." The King Hift. of consented to his Tryal, and many of his Greatures England, were put to Death for their Share in his Offences; Vol. II. but he himself, to the no small Discredit of his p. 698. Mafter, was only confined to a mean, objeure Retreat, in which he languish'd out his Days, without that publick Punishment, which he deserved, The next Prime Minister was the Duke of Buck- Bid. b. ingham, who for many Years was fole Governor of 709. all Affairs, and enrich'd himself and all his Relu-P 728. tions with Places, Pentions and Grants from the Vol 111. Crown; for which he foon after rewarded his p. 23. bountiful Master, in the Manner, which may be expected from all fuch Favourites. The King had fet his Heart upon a Match between his Son and the Infanta of Spain, which was justly odious to the whole Nation; Buckingham therefore, who Hist. of knew how universally he was detested, resolved to Vol. 11. D 2 be- p. 739.

Clarendon's

Hift if

Vol. 1. Book 1.

p. 18.

ibid. p.

ibid. p.

21, 22.

ilid. p.

ibid. p.

23. 24.

Hift. of

p. 784

Hift of

Val. II.

p. 730,

791.

23.

19.

become popular at the Expence of his Master's Honour, by opposing all his Measures in this Affair. He first proposed to the Prince a Journey into Spain, which he afterwards forced the King to consent to; " and this, (as Lord Clarendon " fays) proved the Means, whereby that defigned "Marriage, which had been fo many Years in Rebel ion. "Treaty, was folely broken; for, upon their Re-" turn, the King found that the Prince was totally " aliened from all Thoughts of, or Inclination to " the Marriage; and that He, as well as the " Duke, was resolved to break it, without his "Approbation or Confent." The Duke therefore, feconded by the Countenance the Prince gave him, engaged the Parliament to address the King against the Spanish Match, and to enter into a War with Spain. He likewise projected the Ruin of the Earl of Middlesex, then Lord Treasurer, and one of the King's most favoured Ministers; which he accomplished, by procuring some leading Men in the House of Commons to carry up an Impeachment against that Lord to the House of Peers: and there conducting Matters so, as to get him to be condemned to a large Fine, and long Imprisonment. And now he knew the King would never forgive him; he therefore refolved to keep his Power in spite of him; which he found no other Means of crieding, but by fomenting a Breach between the King and the Prince, and engaging the Son to head the Opposition to his Father's Mea-Lugland, Vol. II. fures. The Vexation this gave the old Monarch, meeting with an Aguith Disposition in his Blood, foon turned that into a violent Fever, in which he died; not without strong Suspicion of his being England, poyfoned by a Plaister, which Buckingham applied to his Side. And this Suspicion was the more confirmed, inafmuch as it was well known (as my Lord

Lord Clarendon fays) "That when King James Clarend. was informed what the Duke had so confidently Hist. of avowed in Parliament, for which he had not Val. I. "Authority, or the least Direction from him, and Book 1. " a great Part whereof himself knew to be false; p. 22-" and that he had advised an utter Breach of the "Treaty; and to enter upon a War with Spain, "He was infinitely offended. So that he wanted " only a resolute and brisk Counsellor to assist him " in destroying the Duke; and fuch an one he " promis'd himself in the Earl of Bristol, whom he expected every Day." No Wonder then it this poor King did not long survive the Earl of Bristol's Return to England. Charles the First, as the Lord Clarendon fays, 1625. " came to the Crown with as universal a Joy in "the People, as can be imagined. It was ex-1911 f. " pected by Those, who knew the great Jealousy 24, 25. " and Indignation, that the Prince had heretofore " conceived against the Duke of Buckingham, for " having been once very near striking him, That "He would now remember that Infolence, of "which He then so often complained. But in-" flead of that, He placed his intire Confidence " in him, the most that ever King had shewed to " any Subject. All Preferments in the Church " and State were given by him; all his Kindred " and his Friends were promoted to the Degree " in Honour, Riches or Offices, that He thought " fit, and all his Enemies and Envyers were discoun-"tenanced, as he appointed. This foon wrought " a visible Change in the Assections of the Na" tion towards their Sovereign." The fruitless to p. Expeditions abroad, and the oppressive Methods 26. 38of railing Money at home, joined to the innate Hist of
Hatred this Nation bears to PRIME MI- Vol. III. NISTERS, raised a Discontent against the Govern-p. 9.

ment, 1. 26.

Clarend. Hift. of Rebellion, Vol. I. Book 1. p. 41.

Hift. of

England.

Vol. III.

P. 47.

p. 48.

ment, which even this Man's Death (being by a private Hand) could not appeale. Lord Clarendon fays himself that "The Venom of his Time" encreas'd and got Vigour, till from one Licence to another it proceeded, until the Nation was corrupted to that monstrous Degree, that it grew satiated and weary of the Government." Indeed the continuing the same Measures, this Prime Minister had set on Foot, till the Liberties of the Nation were thought in Danger, and in the End the listening almost entirely to the Counsel of the Earl of Strafford (who from a busy Stickler for Liberty in one Administration, was become the Instrument of arbitrary Power in another) brought on that dismal Scene of Consusion,

Hift. of England, Vol. III. p. 48. p. 63.

p. 63. p. 65. p. 71.

1. 93.

Thus I have given a fhort Account of the Reigns, from the Conquest down to the Restoration, as to that single Article of *Prime Ministers*; which I shall close with one remarkable Sentence of the *Historian*, whose Authority I have chiefly made Life of in the foregoing Pages. "The Fac-

in which the King was unhappily deprived of his

"vourites of every Prince were always odious to the English People. Not only Self-Love, En"vy, Ambition, Difgust and Revenge do natu"rally create an Aversion to any One Subject,

Crown, Liberty and Life.

"who feems to engross and appropriate to himfelf the common Father of the People. But the
laudable Affections, that prompt to Impartiality;

"Tenderness to our Prince, and Love to our Country, all conspire to make every indifferent

"Person an Enemy to the ONE powerful Fellow"

"Member, that commands over the Head, and

" usurps over the whole Body."

It would scarce have been safe, I am sure it would not have been prudent, thus to entertain

(31)

the Publick with the difinal Confequences, that have hitherto followed, upon verting all Power in One Man, but at a Time like This, when it is the Joy of all good Men to fee that there is no one Prime Minister at the Helm; but that several equally able, equally virtuous and great Men jointly draw on the well-ballanced Machine of State, which therefore cannot, as I pray it may not, totter.

I shall conclude this short Abstract of History with the Observation of as wise a Politician, as ever England bred. "That there never yet was "a Prime Minister in Britain, but either broke his own Neck, or his Master's, or both, unless "He saved his own by sacrificing his Master's.

As the Reader may perhaps be defirous to behold at one View the diverse Casualties of the fundry *Prime Ministers* above-mentioned, I have here subjoined a Table of Them.

PRIME MINISTERS.

DY'D by the Halter — —	3
Ditto by the Axe — — — —	10
Ditto by STURDY BEGGARS — —	
Ditto untimely by private Hands——	2.
Ditto in Imprisonment ————	4
Ditto in Exile —— —— ——	4.
Ditto Penitent — — — —	
Saved by facrificing their Master ——	4
-	
Sum Total of PRIME MINISTERS	31

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